

A
PERSVASION
to the English Recusants, to Reconcile
themselues to the Church of
England.

*Written for the better satisfaction of
those which be ignorant.*

By Iohn Doue Doctor of Diuinitie.

PSAL. 72.

*Give thy iudgement to the King, O God, and thy righteousness
to the Kings soueraine.*

1. PET. 2.

Fear God, Honour the King.



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To the most High and
Mighty Prince,
IAMES by the grace of God, King of
England, Scotland, France and Ireland,
Defendour of the Faith.

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Ratious and dread Soueraigne, I say the
truth, I lie not, my conscience bearing
me witnes in the Holy-ghost, that I haue
with the Apostle great heauinesse, and
continuell sorrow in my heart for many
of my brethren and Country-men. And
my hearty desire and prayer for them to
God, is, that they may be saued. For I beare them recorde, that
they haue the Zeale of God, though not according to knowledge,
which is the onely cause that mooued me to write this short Trea-
tise. And, because God of his great goodnesse hath vouchsafed
your tender yeeres the education of TIMOTHIE, and indu-
ed your Highnesse, since your happy gouernement with princely
gifts, knowledge to discern truth, and Zeale to maintaine truth,
I humbly present vnto your Maiestie, these few lines, containing
a subiect of so great importance. The common voyce, and hope
of

The Epistle.

of your best affected people is, that your Highnesse hath a religious intent, to make God yet better knowne in IVD A, and his name yet greater in HI E RV SALEM, to bring all these your Kingdomes to the acknowledgement and profession of one truth, so that hereafter HI E RV SALEM may be as a walled towne and fenced city, which is at vnitie within it selfe: and as it was in the dayes of the IVDGES, all ISRAEL may be gathered together, as one man, from DAN to BEERSHEBA, vnto the Lord in MISHPAH. The Lord guide and prosper you in all your wayes, the Lord establish your house and kingdome, the Lord blesse you out of SION, that you may see the wealth of HI E RV SALEM all the dayes of your life, that you may see your Childrens Children, and peace in SION.

Your Maiesties humble
Subiect,

IOHN DOVE.



¶ A Perswasion to the English Recu-
sants, to reconcile themselves to
the Church of England.

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CHAP. I.

*It is not enough for them to pray privately, but it is also required,
that they ioine in prayer with the Congregation.*



Lthough the prayers of the faithfull are heard, if they be faithfully made, in what places soever, because our Saviour saith: Whosoever asketh, he shall receive, and therefore, not the Publican onely was heard in the Temple, but also King *Ezekias* in his Chamber, *Elias* vnder the Juniper tree, *Ionas* in the bottome of the Sea, *Manasses* in the prison: Yet the Church is a place more especially appoynted for prayer, it is called the house of prayer, and God is more peculiarly present in that house, than in all other houses. Of the Temple we read, that Gods eyes were open towards that house night and day, his name was especially there, he harkened to the prayers of his Seruants which stretched forth their handes in that place, and of them which were in captiuitie, if they turned towards that house which was built for his name. A greater promise is made to the prayers of many vnitied together, than of one, and a more favourable presence of Christ amongst them which make their ioynt petition; in so much, that when a congregation is ioyned together in his name, he will be in the midst of them, and if they agree in earth

Matthew 7

Luke 18
2. Reg. 20

Iona 2 oratio
Manassis.
Matth 21.

1. Reg. 8

Matth 18

O)

vpon any thing, whatsoever they shall desire, it shall be giuen of his Father which is in heauen.

1. Ezra 8

If we lay before our eyes the Stories of the Bible, the exercise of the godly was such. In the dayes of *Ezra* the Scribe it was so: All the people assembled themselues together, hee brought the booke of the Law of *Moses* before the assembly of men and women, and all that could heare and vnderstand; he read from morning vntill mid-day vnto them, the eares of all the people harkened to the booke of the Law, he preached to them out of a wooden Pulpit, he praised the Lord the great God, and al the people answered, A M E N, A M E N, -with lifting vp their hands, and they bowed themselues, and worshipped the Lorde with their faces towards the ground. In the newe Testament their maner was to meete together on the Saboth day, to ioyne in prayer, and to heare the word preached, and to receiue the sacraments. In the Acts of the Apostles at *Antiochia* was maintained a Lecture of the Law and the Prophets. Saint *Paul* deliuered words of exhortation there after the Lecture, and they besought him to preach to them the same sermon againe the next Saboth. Saint *Paul* and his company being at *Philippi* on the Saboth day, went out of the Citty by a riuer where they were accustomed to pray, there he preached and conuerted *Lydia*. And no doubt, but if our Reculants would heare our Sermons, many of them also would be conuerted. Vpon the Lords day at *Troas* the disciples were gathered together, to break bread, a multitude was gathered together, and *Paul* preached to them. When *Peter* was in prison, the Churchmaking a ioynt petition for him, obtained a speedy and miraculous deliury. And it was obserued as an especiall vertue in the primitiue Church, that they continued together in prayer and breaking of bread, and that they had all one heart. And to this purpose Saint *Paul* exhorteth them saying; I beseech you brethren, in the name of the Lord Iesus Christ, that ye all speake one thing, that ye be knit together in one mind and iudgement. And againe, the God of patience and consolation graunt, that you may be like-minded one to another according to Christ Iesus; that you with one mind, and one mouth, praise God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ.

A.C. 14

A.C. 17

A.C. 20

A.C. 13

1. Corin. 1.

Rom. 15.

The true markes of the visible Church of God, are the hear-

ing of the word, the participation of the sacraments and publike prayer, as out of the scriptures I haue declared. Let vs therefore examine the groundes whereupon so many of our nation, which would especially be accounted of the true church, withdraw themselves from our publike assemblies, refuse to ioine with vs in so Christian exercises; in so much, that whereas it was wont to be reputed a punishment to be interdicted, suspended, and like Lepers, to be shut out of the Congregation, they now like Lepers exclude themselves. Saint *Ambrose* needeth not now to excommunicate *Theodosius*, for hee will excommunicate himselfe, *Suzf. l. 7 c. 24* and we haue as much neede to whip them into the Temple, as our Saviour had to whippe them out, as hee did in the storie of the Gospel. They alleadge for themselves, they do communicate together in prayer, though not with vs; they haue their conuenticles and Masses in their chambers, and the exercise of their owne religion; but that it is against their conscience to come to our churches, that we are Heretikes, Scismatikes, not members of the Catholike Church of *Rome*, not at vnity among our selves, and consequently, that they may not safely communicate with vs. *Ioh. 2.*

CHAP. II. *Of conscience.*

THe ignorant Recusant being perswaded by the Minister, or required by the Magistrate, to shew his conformitie and obedience to Lawes, by resorting to the parish-Church, where he dwelleth: when hee is not able to answere such arguments as are objected against him, nor in any sorte to defend his owne Religion, pretendeth his Conscience, and saith: It is against my conscience, to come to your Church, and whatsoever I doe against my conscience, is sinne. I confesse that whatsoever is done without testimonie and warrant of conscience, is sin to them which doe it, be the thing which is done, in it selfe neuer so lawfull, because the Apostle saith: He that doubteth, is condemned if he eate, because he eateth not of faith; and whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. In which wordes, by faith is vnderstood Conscience. But by the way, they must see that their conscience be rightely informed, else it will be their damnation. For, as *Vide Gre. Mar. in tract de scib.* *Rom. 14.* *Matth. 23.* *Act 9.*

it was sinne in Saint *Peter* to deny Christ, when in his conscience hee knew that hee did euill : so it was sinne in Saint *Paul* to persecute Christ, when hee thought in his conscience hee did well. Therefore, it is not onely damnable to do contrary to their conscience, but also to doe according as their conscience shall direct them, if they be not perswaded by the truth. Therefore, let them not deceiue themselves, taking that for conscience, which is but an error of conscience, and indeede a false perswasion of their minds, in followvng that which the ignorance of their owne fantasies and blinde conceites doth leade them vnto, without seeking any further. For so in his zeale *Peza* supported the Arke when it was ready to fall, his conscience perswading him that he did wel, although it vvas displeasing vnto God. So saint *Paul* speaketh of himselfe, that he vvas zealous tovvards God vvhen he persecuted, and so our Sauour fore-warneth his disciples, that men shall excommunicate them; that the time shall come, that whosoener killeth them, shall thinke hee doth God good seruices; and hee sheweth the reason of this their error. These things saith hee, they will doe vnto you, because they haue not knowne the Father, nor me.

Therefore, for their better instruction, I wil define vnto them what Conscience is. Conscience, I say, is an application of a generall knowledge grounded vpon Gods word to particular actions and intents. Or thus: conscience is a kinde of argumentation or practike syllogisme, whereby, out of a generall proposition, we doe, by a particular conclusion, absolue or condemne our selues, or others. In this syllogisme, the *maior* proposition is the inward sense and feeling of Gods iudgements, whereby we do reason and discourse of our actions, intents and purposes, hauing before our eyes the rule of the lawe of God. The *minor* is the examination of our actions, intents, and purposes, according to that rule, the conclusion is our finall determination concerning our selues or others, what wee or they hauing thus done, intended, and purposed, are to deeme or iudge of our selues or them. So then, in our conscience first we discourse, then we examine, and last of all wee determine. For example. In *Daniels* taking *Urias* his wife, we may see what *Daniels* conscience was. First, he had this generall notion imprinted in his minde, and grounded

1. Chron. 13

Act. 23

Iohn 16

3. Sam. 11.

grounded vpon *Exodus*, that adulterie was damnation : and if *Exod. 20* when he intended to take *Urias* his wife, he had examined his intent by the rule of *Exodus*, hee had found it to be adulterie : and thirdly, after due examination had, finding his intent to bee adulterie, hee could not but condemne himselfe in his owne conscience, that he was guiltie of damnation. According to this sense saith Saint *Paul*: They haue the effect of the Lawe written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witnesse, and their thoughts accusing or excusing one an other. *Rom. 1.*

Albeit conscience is sometimes taken only for the intellectuall power and facultie of our vnderstanding & reasonable soule, by which we are able thus to argue and discourse with our selues : so Saint *Paul* saith; Wee must obey Magistrates for conscience sake; that is, because of our owne reason, knowledge, and vnderstanding, which reuealeth so much light vnto vs : GOD will eternally punish disobedience, and therefore it shall not be safe for vs to charge and burthen our soules with the wrath of God. Sometimes for the *minor* alone, which is the examination of our actions and intents, whether they be good or euill : so the Apostle saith of himselfe; *Nil mihi conscius sum*, I knowe nothing of my selfe, yet I am not thereby iustified; that is, I know no hainous crime wherewith I should be touched. Sometimes *1. Cor. 4.* for the conclusion alone, so he saith: I haue in all good conscience serued God vntill this day; that is, I do absolue my selfe from any *Act. 23.* grieuous crime that I haue committed.

Now, the Recusants argue in this maner : No Heretikes nor Scismatikes are to be communicated withall, but Protestants are Heretikes and Scismatikes, and therefore not to bee communicated withall. Their *maior* proposition is vndoubtedly true, because it is grounded vpon scripture, *Tum* the third; Reiect him that is an Heretike after two or three admonitions; and Saint *John* in his second Epistle; Bid him not God speede : and *Rom. 16.* Marke them diligently which make diuision, and auoyde them. The error therefore, is in the *minor* or examination of this action of communicating with vs according to that generall rule, that no societie is to be had with Heretikes : for whereas they say wee are Heretikes, it is not true. Neither is it maruell though our Recusants haue erred concerning vs, seeing that Saint *Peter* and the

Act. 10.

Disciples haue erred concerning the like: When the sheete was let downe, wherein were all manner of beastes, and Saint *Peter* was bidden to arise, kill, and eate: Hee answered: Not so Lorde; for I neuer ate any meate that was vncleane. And therefore hee argued in this manner: No vncleane meates are to bee eaten: But these meates are vncleane, therefore they are not to be eaten. The *Maio*r was true, because grounded vppon *Leuiticus 11. Dent. 14.* where the differences of meates are set downe. But in his *Minor* he was deceiued, which thought those meates to be vncleane, for as much as vnder the Gospel, the difference of meates was taken away, and no meate was polluted, in respect of the conscience of man. So then, as it was not Saint *Peters* conscience, but the error of his conscience, when he refused the meates as vncleane, which God had sanctified and made lawfull; so it is not their conscience, but the error of their conscience that they refuse vs for schisme & heresie, which indeed are true gospellers and members of the mysticall body of Iesus Christ, as by Gods assistance I wil proue. And as the Disciples, not knowing of *Pauls* conuerlation, were afraide to ioyne with him, supposing him to be a persecuter when he was a Preacher: so they feare to ioyne with vs, supposing vs to be in the wrong way, whereas indeed we be in the right.

Act. 9.

And because I haue saide, it is not vpon conscience that they sequester themselves from vs, I will shew them how many wayes a mans conscience may erre and be deceiued, and so carried away from the truth, and they are these eight following. The first is ignorance, so the common sort ignorantly alledge we are heretikes, that our religion is not warrantable, but cannot know what heresie is, neither yet rightly conceiue the groundes either of our religion of their owne. For they are inhibited to heare our Sermons, to reade our bookes, to haue conference with vs, or to be catechized by vs. How then should they knowe our religion? They are nourished in blindness by their owne teachers, which hold it as a principle, that it is fit they should be ignorant. Neither are they permitted to haue the Bible in their mother tongue. How then can they know their owne religion? They are vnfurnished and vtterly destitute of all meanes and helpes which may bring them to be able to discerne truth from heresie.

Wide Cōcil.
Trid. & Pref.
in indicem
expurg. &
Greg. Mart.
de schis.

The

The second is negligence. So they which in some measure are learned, doo call vs heretikes, which can, but doo not reade our bookes, although they haue them, nor examine the groundes which wee hold, although they are able, and it is permitted vnto them. Concerning their owne doctrine, they are contented to receiue it for truth, vpon the credit of others without further prooffe, and to see with other mens eyes, heare with other mens eares, speake with other mens tongues, because they will not spend so much time as to search further, and what slander foeuer they doo heare of vs, they are readie to beleue it. For example, *Campion* slandereth our Church, as if we did offer violence to the holy scriptures, affirming that *Luther* wrote contumeliously of Saint *Iames* his Epistle: his disciples blush not to report the same, because hee hath written it, without further enquire, whether hee writ the truth or not, whereas if they would but vouchsafe to examine the place for their owne satisfaction, they would finde it a slander, which they because of their slouthfulness do holde for a truth. They are contented to buy *Campion* alone, and *Gregorie Marime* his Preface, with the notes of the Seminaries of *Rhemes*, vpon the New Testament, and now and then to reade them. But as for Doctor *Whitaker* his answer, many of them suffer it not to be in their studies, or if it bee in the Catalogue of their liberarie, they do not reade it. And as for doctor *Fulkes* answer to *Gregorie Marimes* Preface, and the notes of the Seminaries, they are so farre from conferring the one with the other, that so they might be satisfied and resolu'd of the truth, as they are contented to giue more mony for the Rhemish Testament alone, then for the same booke with Doctor *Fulkes* answer ioynd with it.

Edm. Cap.
rat. 1.

The third is obstinacie. For, as the first cannot, because they be ignorant and vnable to iudge, and deprived of all meanes by which they may be enabled; and the second do not iudge rightly because they are slouthfull, and loth to take so much paines as to trie the spirites, to examine doctrine, and conferre places: So the third sort of men will not vnderstand the truth, because they be obstinate, they will resist the holy Ghost, and stop their eares against the truth, as the adder doth against the charmer, and as the Iewes did against Saint *Stephen*. Wee shall not perswade

Act. 7.

- Rom. 10.* them although wee doo perswade them, because instruction and faith commeth by hearing, they wil not heare least they should be instructed, and belecue the truth. They say their fathers professed that religion, and therefore they will rather erre with their fathers than embrace the truth with vs : like *Rachel*, which would not leaue behinde her the gods of her Father, but carrie them with her. They were brought vp and instructed in this religion from their childhood, and now they say they will not alter. They forgot the rule of the Apostle, which willeth them to make tryall of all, and then to hold that which is best. For they will heare none, they will holde what they haue held, and they will not alter for the better. And in so doing, what do they but as *Pharao* did, who saide : Who is the Lord, that I should heare his voice, and let *Israel* goe? I know not the Lord, neither will I let *Israel* goe. Whereas the Prophet saith: To day if ye will heare his voice, harden not your hearts.

- The fourth is perplexitie, vnstayednesse, and trouble of mind; like vnto *Saule*, which after he had put away the Sorcerers and Soothsayers out of the Land : yet when he was terrified by the armie of the Philistines, seeing it to be very great, and could haue no answer from God, neither by dreames, nor *Urim*, nor Prophets, asked counsell of a Witch at *Endor* : So diuers which haue renounced that religion, and imbraced ours, yet lying at the point of death, in the midst of their conflicts and tentations, thinking vpon the arguments which are brought on each side, and fearing to halt betweene two opinions, and so die vnresolved; because they haue not had at that instant conference with such as were able to resolue them of all their doubts, haue suddenly reuolted, and not onely followed the example of *Lots* wife, which looked backe vnto *Sodom*, but also of the people which haue saide, come let vs goe backe into *Egipt* againe.

- The fift is pride, and their owne insolencie, whereby they are puffed vp, and thinke that all men must be subiect vnto them, but they neede submit themselues vnto none. As *Bernardinus Ochinus* writ a Booke in defence of Poligamie, affirming that *numerofum coniugium*, multitude of wiues was lawfull : supposing that after his Maister *Peter Martyr* was dead, no man was able to match him in writing or in disputation: like *Goliath* of *Gath*, which

challenged all commers to the combat. And this is the special cause why Popes and generall Councils doe erre, because they hold it as a principle in their Diuinitie that they cannot erre. For what doctrine will they bee afraide to publish, which are thus perswaded of themselves? Nay, who fals so soone as they which thinke their footing to be so fast that they cannot fall? Therefore the Apostle giueth this aduice: *Qui videtur sibi stare, videtur ne cadat.* He that thinketh that he standeth, let him take heede lest he fall. 1. Cor. 10.

The sixth is singularitie: They will holde their opinions because they will discent from vs, as if it were impossible that they and we should agree together in one truth. They thinke themselves to be Saint *Iohn*, and vs to bee *Cerintus*, as if that Bath could not be wholesome where *Cerintus* doth wash himselfe, themselves to be Iewes, and vs to be Samaritans, as if it were vnlawfull for them to drinke water out of our bucket which we doe draw; as if they would not haue any place in the Kingdome of heaven, but relinquish all their right and inheritance there, if they did thinke we should come thither. Euen as some in our Church, although otherwise graue and learned, yet refuse some good and wholesome lawes and orders, because they were, as they thinke, deuised by the Church of *Rome*. It is not a sufficient Argument, that because we hold it, therefore the doctrine should be hereticall, as it is no good consequent, that because they hold it, it should be sound; and orthodoxall. So then what is their proofe, but a womans reason, it is so, because it is so; I will haue it so, because I thinke so:

Non amo te Voluci, non possum dicere quare,

Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

The seuenth is inordinate affection, and loue of themselves, for some will make their conscience incline to their owne wil and affections, and not frame their desires according to conscience. For example, they thinke that religion foundest, which doeth most of all serue their turne, as the King *Achab* iudged those Prophets to be best which preached pleasing thing; but concerning *Micah*, which prophecied other things then the King would haue him to prophecie, it was said: Put this man in prison, feede him with the bread of affliction, and water of affliction. 1. Reg. 22.

So, because of their corrupt and fleshly nature they doe incline to libertie, they thinke that religion most probable which doeth fauour their affections most; that is, which holdeth simple fornication to be no sinne, that offences may be redeemed by monie, that ordinarie faults which they commit, are not *peccata*, but *peccadilla*, not sinnes, but trifles, which are easily pardoned and dispensed withall.

The last is pusillanimitie, or weakenesse of minde, when they feare that which in sincere iudgement they ought not to feare, as namely the dislike of their friendes, the rebuke of their enemies, the voyce of the people, the good or bad report of other men, who will obiect apostasie against them. So Saint *Peter*, though he knew Christ, yet said he knew not the man, for feare of rebuke. And *Nicodemus*, although conuerted to be a Christian, yet kept his place and profession among the Pharises still, least it should be said vnto him as afterward it was in the Gospel: Art thou also of *Galile*? Some relie vpō the opinion of great Doctors, whose iudgement they would, in modestie preferre before their owne, and in respect of them, somewhat distrust themselves, though they see euident demonstrations to perswade them otherwise. As the Iewes would not beleeuē in Christ, for feare of the Pharises, although they saw a manifest signe, *Lazarus* raised from dead. They feare least it should be vpbraided vnto them as it was in the Gospel: Doe any of the Rulers beleeuē in him, but onely this people which know not the Law and are accursed? As Cardinall *Pole* in his death-bed, said, the protestants are the founder men, I would be a protestant were it not for the Church of *Rome*: whereas they should not so much respect the opinion of this Doctour or that Rabbi, when they see the plaine and open way lie before them, but preferre a manifest trueth aboue all. Therefore it behooueth our Countrey men to informe their consciences better, and not to lay it vpon their conscience that they liue disorderly, and disobedient to Christian lawes.

CHAP. III. Of Heresie.

Vide Gregor. Mart. in
tract. de.
Scism.

They lay heresie to our charge, as if so be that we were like to *Seruius*, *Cerinthus*, & *Arrius*. If we be heretiks, they do well

well to refrain our companie. But that we may the better proceed in this argument, for the purgation of our selues, let vs first define what heresie is. Secondly, let vs inquire by what Court or Consistory we are condemned of heresie. Thirdly, let vs set downe the fundamentall points of our Doctrine, that it may appeare whether we were iustly condemned or no. Which being done, we shall not onely cleare our selues from iust suspicion of heresie, but also demonstrate how the greatest Papists in the world, for learning and iudgement, do imbrace the same, and agree in them, with vs, not as if we did conforme our selues vnto them, because wee holde the same conclusions which we haue alwayes held, but they seeing their owne errors laide open before them, and being in their owne consciences conicted by a manifest trueth, do dayly, so farre as they dare, and may without the generall notice of the world, come nearer vnto vs, as if our doctrine in their knowledge were the soundest. And therefore, why should not the inferior sorte of Catholikes which are but their disciples doe the like? The Church of *Rome* being taxed by *Luther* for their discipline as loose, and their doctrine as erroneous, called the Councell of *Trent*, to deuise a reformation, seeing that in the eyes of the world they were not slandered. In that counsell they set forth such wholesome Canons concerning Discipline as were fit for a reformed Church, but they were not so carefull of their points of Doctrine, because they saw the world could sooner looke into their disorders, then iudge of their doctrine, and so did as it were yeeld *Luthers* complaint in parte to be iust. As for the doctrine, although they hold in termes the same which they did before, because Princes and estates should not thinke they had so long deceived the world, and continued in error, and not espied the same vntill by *Luther* they had bin discovered, and as it were by him awaked like men which were in a dreame so many yeeres: yet they set downe their conclusions so cunningly, as if they would beare men in hand that they were (in some sort) but mistaken, & inclined of themselves somewhat vnto that which *Luther* perswaded. Whereupon, some protestants suspected that they had an intent, in time, to become *Lutherans*, onely it should come of themselves; and not by force of *Luthers* arguments, vntill *Andradus*, a man more audacious then the

the rest, to remoue that hope of theirs, when he thought the Lutherans to be more cold, and the brunt almost passed ouer, tooke vpon him to expound the meaning of the *Tridentine* counsell, and to conser all points to as grosse sense as they were euer before. But nowe they beginne to incline to vs againe, inso much that Cardinall *Bellarmino* late Diuinitie Reader of *Rome*, and the learnedest Diuine of that Church which now liueth, in the course of his controuersie lectures, though where he deliuereth the state of the question he bringeth what may be brought on their side, for fashion sake, that he may auoide all suspection of heresie with them: yet he handleth his matters so cunningly, and so doubtfully, that in his conclusions he agreeth with vs in many things, although in diuers termes, wherein his predecessors vitterly dissented from vs. And in many things he sheweth himselfe to be; so farre as he dareth, a Protestant, or at the least not a Papist: if we take papistrie to be that which before it was. And whoso euer doth obserue him well, shal finde how he discourseth of many things superfluous, like one which is more desirous to deceiue the time, to fill vp the page with varietie of reading multitudes of Fathers, and citations of places, then to refute vs. Yet his Volumes are allowed by the Inquisition, and he is rewarded for his learned workes. Therefore I say, papistrie is newly corrected and refined, they hold the same conclusions in generall termes which they did, but they hold them not as they did: they seeke out new defences, as if they could not stand to the olde, & come neerer to vs in indgement euery day. For so it hath pleased God in this latter end of the world to lighten their darknesse, and to quicken the dulnesse of their vnderstanding.

Touching the first, if they will vnderstand what heresie is, they must distinguish betweene heresie and errour, for euery heresie is an error; but euery error is not an heresie. As there is one error in maners, and so euery haynous offence is called a crime, as the adulterie of *Danish*; but such offences as are committed only vpon infirmitie, are cald by the general name of errors; so there is another error in doctrine, and euery man which holdeth a wrong opinion is said to erre; as the Apostle did, which supposed the Kingdome of Christ to be of this world, and that the Gospel was not to be published to the Gentiles: and these errors were no heresies,

Actes 1.

Actes 11.

refies, but that which is heresie, is more dangerous and of higher nature. It is an old saying: *Errare possunt, heretici non*, I may easily erre, as all men have done, but an heretike I will not be.

I define an heresie in this maner: It is an error stiffly and obstinately defended and maintained, not by a consequent, but directly impugning some Article of faith. For example, the Disciples erred when they helde it necessarie to be circumcised, yet were not heretikes, because they were not obstinate, for they submitted themselves to the iudgement of the Church, and after due consultation was had, they consented to the truth. Again, that opinion, did not directly impugn faith, but onely by a consequent, for so saith the Apostle: Behold, I *Paul* say vnto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing, for I testifie againe to euery one which is circumcised, that he is bound to keepe the whole Law. Then, if we allow of Circumcision, we hold the Ceremoniall Law to be still in force, and by a consequent deny the death of Christ, by whose death onely that Law was abolished. But *Arrius* was condemned for an heretike in the councell of *Nice* for these two causes: First, he defended his error obstinately, vntill his bellie burst, and bowels gushed out; not yeelding to the learned Bishops of the world, which convicted him by manifest places of the scriptures. Secondly, hee denied the Godhead of Christ contrary to the article of the Creede, which hath; and I beleeue in Iesus Christ his onely son; and the doctrine of saint *Paul*, which saith hee was mightily declared to bee the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead; and of saint *Iohn*, which saith, God was the word. It is one thing therefore to denie the faith directly, as to say, Christ hath not yet suffered; and another thing to denie it by a consequent, as they which hold a necessitie of circumcision. But as for vs, we neither hold any opinions obstinately, because we wil recant & subscribe to the Church of *Rome*, if they can disproue vs by the scriptures: Neither doe we impugn any article of faith, because wee holde the Creed of the Apostles, of *Athanasius*, of *Nice*, of *Ephesus*, of *Constantinople*, which the Papists also do hold, and the same Bible which we receiued from them, and we expound all these as all godly and learned antiquitie hath expounded them before vs,

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and

and therefore wee are vniustly charged with heresie.

That I may come to the second thing which I proposed. No Church can be condemned and adiudged hereticall by any priuate censure, but it must be publike. Therefore they alleage for our condemnation, the decrees of the councill of *Trent*, against the authoritie of which councill we take these iust exceptions: First, they call it a generall councill, as if almost all the Diuines of the world had beene assembled there. Let vs therefore number how many were present. They reckon for the credit of that councill as present, sixe Cardinalls, foure Legates, three Patriarkes, two and thirtie Archbishops, two hundred twentie eight Bishops, and five Abbats. Wee denie not, but at the end of the councill so many were procured to be there, but at the beginning, when matters were propounded, at the time when points of religion were argued and debated, they exceeded not the number of fortie Bishoppes, foure Legates, very small assembly to deserue the name of a generall councill, to consider of so many weightie causes. Onely therefore at the latter end, the Pope seeing almost all Bishops to forbear comming thither, did create new Bishops to make vp a number, and grace the councill with their presence, and to subscribe to all conclusions for forme sake, which they did, neither here argued by others, nor yet well consider of their selues. Therefore let indifferencie be the Iudge betweene them and vs, whether so rash a censure was to stand in force. Secondly, who were there? onely our aduersaries which were of a contrary religion, we were not present, so that they did not onely by vs, as the Pharisees did by our Saviour, contrary to lawe condemne vs in our absence and our cause being not heard, but also the same men were both our accusers and our Iudges. If ye aske a reason why we were not there? had wee letters of safe conduct? either could we haue trusted to such conduct if it had bin graunted? What if they should haue falsified their promise made to vs, as they did to *Iohn Huz* in the councill of *Constance*? especially they holding such a Principle, as they are not bound to keepe faith and fidelitie with an heretike. But suppose wee had beene present, wee should haue stood for ciphers and not for a number, because they were linked together in the same confederacie, to suff. & nothing to passe which might be preiudiciall to the

Ioh. 7

the See of *Rome*. Thirdly, *Bellarmino* defineth thofe counceils, onely to be vniuerfall, where all Bifhops of the world either were or might be prefent, thefe be his words : *Ubi adfunt aut adeffe poffunt omnes Epifcopi totius orbis*, and in the next chapter he defineth that counceill onely to be lawfull which the Pope hath approoued, and the catholikes generally haue receiued. But neither all could be prefent as I haue declared, neither haue the greater part of Catholikes yet receiued that counceill with the decrees thereof, for they are refufed by the Catholikes of *Germanie*, *France*, *Hungary*, *Bohemy*, *Poland*, as our owne experience can tell vs.

Tom. 1. contra-
uerf. 4. cap. 4.

In the third place, forafmuch as I haue fhewed you, that Chriftians dwelling in one place are to meete together for the exercife of their religion, which confifteth in thefe three things, prayer, the word, and the Sacraments : Let vs examine the worde which we teach, the leiturgie or forme of prayers which we ufe, the maner of our adminiftration of the facraments whereof wee would that they fhould be partakers.

Concerning the doctrine, as I faide before, wee holde with them the fame Creede, and the fame Bible, concerning which Bible thefe haue bin the chiefest differences betweene them and vs, which follow.

First, whether all the books of the Bible be canonically or no? They affirme that *Tobie*, *Baruch*, *Iudith*, *Ecclefiafticus*, *Wifdome*, the *Maccabees*, and the fragment of *Efther* &c: be canonically; we holde them for *Apocrypha*. They prooue them to be canonically out of Saint *Auguftine*; we, that they be *Apocrypha* out of Saint *Hierome*, both which doctores are of no fmall authority with the Church of *Rome*, and therefore in this wee differ no more from them than Saint *Hierome* did from Saint *Auguftine*, which did both agree, and were eafily reconciled. S. *Hierome* interpreteth Saint *Auguftines* meaning, that they were canonically enough to prooue rules of life, not groundes of doctrine and faith. Thus Saint *Hierome* answered Saint *Auguftine* in the Primitiue Church, thus we haue answered the Papifts of our age: and *Bellarmino* fince this answer was giuen, handling this controuerfie at large, replieth not againft our answer. Onely he proueth in generall termes, that they be canonically, which we do

De verbo Dei
lib. 1. capitibus
7, 8, 9, 10, 11,
12, 13, 14, 15.

also confesse, but hee dooth not so much as mention this destruction of Cannons of faith, and Cannons of good life and manners, much lesse dooth hee reply against it, therefore wee take it *pro concesso*, as a thing graunted by the Lawes of disputations, that hee holdeth as wee holde, flieth to our defence, and so resteth satisfied with our answer, and the case to be cleere betweene vs both.

Secondly: A question hath beene debated betweene vs concerning the Bible, forasmuch as there be many editions, as Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, which is the best? Wee say the Hebrew, they the Latine, and the councill of *Trent* hath obtruded to vs one only Latine edition, that is, the old vulgare translation, and decreed, that it onely should be authenticall and no other, that all others should be corrected by it, and it by none. Wee grant it fit, that for vniformitie in quotations of places in schools and pulpits, one Latine text should be vsed, and we can be contented, for the antiquitie thereof, to preferre that before all other Latine books, so much we do yeeld to the Councell: But forasmuch as that translation hath many faults, as al other translations haue, because they are the workes of men, we preferre the originall, that is, the olde Testament in the Hebrew, and the new in Greeke farre before it, forasmuch as they were written by the finger of God the Holy Ghost, which cannot erre. And *Bellarmine* condescendeth to our opinion, as more sound than the decree of the councill of *Trent*, shewing that wheresoeuer the Latine books do discent one from another, that it may be discerned, which is the truest, each of them to be examined by the originall, which is of greater authoritie, and the Latine bookes to be corrected by them, that onely to be found, which agreeth with them, and that to be reiected, which discenteth from them. His words are these:

De verbo Dei
lib. 2. cap. 11

Ad aliud de emendatione Latinorum codicum ad Hebraeos & Græcos respondeo, quatuor temporibus licere nobis recurrere ad fontes Hebraeos & Græcos, ut illi patres monent. Primo quando in nostris codicibus videtur esse error librarium &c: Secundo, quando Latini codices variant, ut non possit certo statui quæ sit vera vulgata Lectio, possumus ad fontes recurrere, & inde inuari ad veram Lectionem inueniendam. Sic Ioseph. quidam Latini codices habent: Quibus inrauit ut ostenderet illis terram lacte fluentem & melle,

qui

quidam habent, ut non ostenderet &c: vera lesio videtur esse posterior. Nam in Hebræo constanter addatur, Non, Sicut è contrariò loci suo 11. Quidam codices habent: Non fuit ciuitas qua non se iraderet: Quidam habent: Non fuit ciuitas qua se iraderet, Et hoc est verum quia conformè est Hebræo, & verba sequentia id requirunt. Sic Luca 1. quidam codices habent: Redemptionem plebi sue: Quidam plebi sue, & hac videtur verior, cum in Greco sit τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ.

A third question concerning the Bible is, whether all grounds of saluation, all things which are absolutely necessarie for a Christian man to know, be contained in the corpes and body of the Bible? They haue held, in times past, that the Bible was insufficient, and therefore they added vnto it traditions, which they call vnnwritten verities, and would haue them to be of as great authoritie as the scriptures, as necessary to bee beleued and obeyed: but now, *Bellarmino*, as if he were ashamed of that assertion, doth relinquish it, and after he hath spoken in the defence of traditions what he can, concludeth that all things which are necessary, are contained in the Apostles. His wordes are these: *Primum est, quedam in doctrinâ Christianâ tam fidei quam morum esse simpliciter omnibus necessaria, ad salutem, qualis est notitia; arctiorum Symboli Apostolici, iura cognitio decem; præceptorum, & nouulorum sacramentorum. Cetera non ita necessaria sunt, ut sine eorum explicatâ notitiâ, & fide & professione saluari homo non possit, modo promptam habeat voluntatem, ea suscipiendi & credendi, quando sibi fuerint legitime per Ecclesiam, proposita &c: His notatis, dico, illa omnia scripta esse ab Apostolis, quæ sunt omnibus necessaria, & quæ ipsi palam omnibus vulgo prædicauerant: alia autem, non omnia scripta esse. But whatsoeuer they can prooue out of the Bible, we will receiue; as for things which are not necessarie, although we dissent concerning them, they ought not therefore to refuse to communicate with vs.*

A fourth question is, of the authoritie of the scriptures, and who ought of right to be iudge of the same. They were wont to hold the Church, that is, the generall Councell, to be aboue the scriptures, and the vndoubted Iudge of the same; we the contrarie. Now *Bellarmino* condescendeth vnto vs, that the iudgement of the church specified in the councel of *Trent* may so farre be subiect to the scriptures, as to be examined by the scriptures,

*Fide Comil.
Trident.*

*De verbo Dei
lib. 4. cap. 10*

*De verbo Dei
lib. 3. cap. 12.*

and that the authority of the Church is inferior to the authority of the scriptures. His words are these: *Addo etiam, quod etsi hereticus peccat dubitando de auctoritate Ecclesie, in quam per Baptismum regeneratus est, neg, est eadem conditio heretici qui semel fidem professus est, & Iudei aut Ethnicus, qui nunquam fuit Christianus: tamen, posito hoc dubio, & hoc peccato, non male facit scrutando & examinando, an loca scriptura & Patrum, à concilio Tridentino prelatata se habeant, modo id faciat intentione inueniendi veritatem, non calumnian di. Deberet quidem ille sine examine recipere doctrinam Ecclesie, tamen melius est ut examinando preparetur ad veritatem, quam negligendo remaneat in suis tenebris.* And againe in the same Chapter. *Decimum quantum argumentum: Si Pontifex indicat de scripturis, sequitur Pontificem, seu concilium esse supra scripturam, & si scriptura sensu sine Pontifice seu concilio non est authenticum, sequitur verbum Dei accipere robur & firmitatem à verbo hominum.* Respondeo hoc argumentum, quod ab hereticis plurimifit, totum in equiocatione versari: Nam duobus modis potest intelligi Ecclesiam indicare de scripturis: uno modo quod indicat, verumne sit an falsum quod scriptura docent: altero modo, quod posito ut fundamento certissimo scriptura verba esse verissima iudices qua sit vera eorum interpretatio. Et quidem, si primo modo Ecclesia iudicaret, verè esset supra scripturam, sed hoc non dicimus, quamuis heretici calumnientur id nos dicere, qui passim vociferantur nos subiecere scripturam pedibus Papæ. At secundo modo iudicare Ecclesiam vel Pontificem de scripturis, quod nos asserimus, non est Ecclesiam esse supra scripturam, sed supra iudicia primorum hominum. Non enim indicat Ecclesia de veritate scripturae sed de intelligentiâ tuâ & meâ, & aliorum, Neg, hinc sumit verbum Dei aliquod robur, sed intelligentia nostra. Non enim scriptura est verior aut certior, quia sic ab Ecclesia exponitur, sed mea sententia est verior quando ab Ecclesia confirmatur.

Thus I could goe almost through all the controuersies betwene them and vs. But I doe content my selfe with the fundamentall points. Therefore I exhort them which hold vs for heretikes, first, to reade diligently, to peruse and examine their owne writers. and what they hold; to conferre their groundes with ours, and then to examine their owne iudgements, whether they finde vs heretikes or no. And as for those matters, which

be no fundamentall poyntes, although in them wee dissent; wee must not dispaire of their conuersion. For God neither hath nor will reueale vnto them all truth at once, but, as the blind man in the Ghospell, when hee first beganne, to see, thought hee sawe men walking like trees, but when our Sauour touched his eyes againe, he saw more clearly. So God will lighten the darknesse of their hearts, and take away the vaile or couering which is before them, by degrees, vntill they come to the full measure of knowledge, which the Holy Ghost shall iudge expedient to be reuealed vnto them. Marke. 8

Of Faith and Workes.

TO leaue these generall grounds, and to dispute more particularly. They hold, with Saint *Iames*, that workes do iustifie; we with Saint *Paul*, iustification by Faith, and sith these two Apostles differ in wordes, and not in meaning, why should wee disagree, holding the same which they doe hold? Faith goeth before, and workes follow after iustification; but both do iustifie: so Saint *Paul* argueth from that which is precedent, Saint *Iames* argueth from that which is subsequent, and both argue well. According to the Grammaticall signification of the word, as to iustifie signifieth, *iustum facere*, to make a man iust: so neither faith nor yet workes do iustifie, but God alone, according to the acception, which is vsed in Law, as to iustifie signifieth, *iustum declarare*, to absolue a man and pronounce him iust out of the mouth of a iury or a Iudge, so faith which is invisible iustifieth vs before the invisible god, which seeth our invisible faith; & workes which are visible, iustifie vs before visible men, which see our workes as they be visible and sensible things. As the Angels when they came vnto *Lot*, had not bene intertained, had they not cloathed themselves with bodily shapes, so men cannot discerne our faith vnlesse it be as it were cloathed and beautified with workes. But to speake of that which is worst: They hold that workes are meritorious, and therefore they worke that they may merit heauen, we ascribing lesse vnto our selues, and more vnto God, thinke not so honourably of our workes, and yet wee thinke workes as necessary as they doe, and therefore wee will worke,

Of Recusancie.

Phil. 2.

worke, and we will worke, that we may be saued, and wee will worke out our saluation with feare and trembling. Wee holde workes necessarie for them which will inherite, but not for them which will merit, and therefore we worke not that wee may merit, yet that we may inherite, and our workes haue these foure necessary vses, that by them we may glorifie God, benefite our neighbour, exercise our faith, and make our election sure. For with vs this is the very definition of a worke: An action of the regenerate according to the Law of God, done to these ends, that God, by it may be glorified, our neighbor profited, our faith exercised, and our election confirmed. And although wee worke not for that end as they do, yet because without workes we must not thinke to please God, wee will worke as much as they doe, and the same workes which they doe, with the same zeale which they doe, which thinke to merit. Wee will worke as earnestly as if we thought to merit, and yet we wilbe farre off from thinking that we merit, because when we haue done all that we are commaunded to doe, wee are but vnprofitable seruants, and therefore we will relie vpon the merits of Christ alone, renouncing our selues and our workes. Let them iudge then who are safest, they or we. Our difference is not concerning the worke it selfe, but only concerning the opinion which we ought to conceiue of the worke, they thinke honourably, wee basely, of our owne workes, but worke the same. And certainly, the worthinesse of workes doth not consist in the excellent opinion which we conceiue of them, but in the true and faithfull working, not in the pleasing of our selues with our selues, or any thing which procedeth from vs.

Iac. 17

Of Free will.

THIS question hath bred some difference betweene vs in the schooles, and yet if we do vnderstand each other, we may be easily reconciled. For the scriptures speake so plainly, that they take away doubts: We are, say they, not of our selues sufficient to thinke a good thought, as of our selues, but all our sufficiencie is of God. The way of man is not in himselfe, neither is it in man to walke and direct his steps. No man commeth to Christ vn-

1. Corint. 3.
Jerem. 10

lesse the Father draw him. Draw me, and wee will runne after thee. What good I would doe, that doe I not, the euill which I would not doe, that doe I: saith the Apostle: To conclude therefore, there are three sorts of agents; the one working of his meere will and pleasure, which is God; the other of necessitie, which is nature; a third betwene both these extreames, partly of willingness, and partly of necessitie, which is man. And as no man is good against his will, so no man hath power to will any thing that is good, vnlesse God giue him that will. So saith the Apostle: It is God which worketh in you euen the wil and deede, of his owne good will and pleasure. And this will may be compared to the eye, which being in darkenesse, yer is not binde, neither doth it see without the especiall grace of God.

John. 6
Cant. 1
Rom. 7

Phil. 1

Of Prayer.

WE inuocate God alone, who we are sure doth heare vs, and they confesse, that in so doing wee doe well, why then will they not ioyne with vs in well doing? But, as for Saints departed, when they pray to them, to be prayed for by them, they are not certaine that they doe heare them, because it cannot be sufficiently prooued, why then will they not pray with vs whose prayers they confesse to be voyde of exception? They denie not but that it is better to pray to God then to Saints, why then had they not rather be sure of the first place, then doubt of the second? Their prayer to Saints may breede a scruple in their conscience, whether they do well or no. For, if they heare them not, their prayers are idle words, but they must answer at the day of iudgement for euery idle word which they shall speake.

Math. 11.

As we pray not to Saints departed, so wee pray not for Saints or any other deceased. If they be in heauen, they neede not our prayers, if in hel, no prayers can helpe them, and we dare not say they are in purgatory, sith purgatory, by the confession of *Belsermine*, is a tradition, & not containd in the scriptures. He writes that there be many things necessary to be known, which are not contained in the scriptures, he doth reckon them vp in order, and he placeth them so; first, that women were purged from liane,

though vncircumcised : secondly, that children that died before the eight day, were also purged from originall sinne : thirdly, many Gentiles in the old testament were saued : fourthly, that of necessitie there be some books which are the holy scriptures: fifthly, that it must be knowne which bookes are the holy scriptures: sixthly, that the bookes which wee haue in our hands are the holy scriptures : seauenthly, that the scriptures are to be vnderstood: eighthly, that *Mary* was a perpetuall Virgine : ninthly, that Easter is to be celebrated on the Loides day : tenthly, that Infants are to be baptized : eleuenthy, purgatory : But marke his words, he saith, many things are necessary to be knowne, which are not contained in the scriptures, among those he maketh purgatory to be the eleuenth, therefore he affirmeth, that purgatory is a thing necessary to be knowne, and not in the scriptures, and yet as a man that would halte betweene two religions, to please vs, and not displease the Papiſts, doth lay it vpon *Luther*, saying, *Credit Lutherus purgatorium esse, & tamen asserit purgatorium non posse probari in sacris literis.* *Luther* saith, he belieueth that there is a purgatory, and yet saith, it cannot be prooued out of the scriptures. The question is, whether *Bellarmine* doth not say so as well as *Luther*. If he do not: first, why doth he not expresse his owne minde to the contrary in that place? secondly, why doth he in that long catalogue of such things as are not contained in the scriptures reckon purgatory to be the eleuenth? He sheweth that the tenth tradition or vnwritten veritie is the baptisme of Infantes, that *Luther* and *Caluin* hold it lawefull, and yet his selfe doth not refuse that opinion which they doe hold, and the like must be vnderstood concerning purgatory; that as *Luther* denieth purgatory to be contained in the scriptures, so doth *Bellarmine*, or else he doth contradict himselfe, which said before, that *Purgatorium est undecimum eorum quae ignorari non possunt, & tamen in scripturis non continentur*, Purgatory is the eleuenth of these things, whereof we may not be ignorant, and yet are not contained in the scriptures. Such therefore *Bellarmino* repeating many things which are not contained in the scripture, of which one to be purgatory, and yet before as I haue shewd, granteth all things to be contained in the scriptures which are necessary for our saluation, that we should know them, ye must beare with vs

if we doe not belieue purgatorie, being no matter of faluation to vs to belieue it.

We pray in our mother tongue, what exception doe they take againſt it? Their private prayers are in English, as it appeareth by their Ieſus pſalter, their Manuall of Meditations, and ſundry other prayer books which they haue printed. I would know why it might not be as lawfull to pray publiſhly in the ſame tongue. Which is more, I haue ſcene the Maſſe, by them ſet forth in Spaniſh, the Spaniſh being in one page of the booke, and the Latine in the other. In times paſt, the English teſtament was printed with the English in one page, and the Latine in the other, and liſenced to be printed, and publiſhly ſold by King *Philip* and *Qu. Mary*. And now of late our English Seminaries of *Rhemes* haue publiſhed the New Teſtament in English, with promiſe alſo to ſet forth the old, why may not the English Bible be publiſhed by vs as well as by the Seminaries, and as well be read publiſhly in our Church as in their houſes? But to come to the point, *Bellarmin* confeſſeth thoſe prayers which are in a knowne tongue to be beter then thoſe which are not vnderſtood, why then ſhould not that which is inferiour giue place vnto that which is better? God is beſt pleaſed when he is beſt ſerued, and he is beſt ſerued where he is prayed vnto after the beſt manner. *Bellarmin*s words are theſe: *Non his repugnant ſcriptura illa: populus hic labitur in me honoras, &c: Si oram linguā, ſpiritus meus erat, meus autem finis fruſtra eſt: In poſteriori ſcriptura, non reprehenditur oratio quā non intelligitur ſed ei anteponiſtur oratio quā intelligitur.* In the ſame chapter hee confeſſeth that the Pope gaue licence to the whole land of *Morania*, to haue their publiſh ſeruiſe in their owne tongue, why ſhould hee denie the ſame to vs? I doubt not but hee woulde diſpenſe with vs, if wee woulde take ſuch a diſpenſation from him. If it be of it ſelfe euill, his diſpenſation cannot make it good, and if it be of it ſelfe good, and according to Gods word, it needeth not to be ſtrengthened by his diſpenſation. As he cannot diſpenſe againſt Gods word, ſo Gods word of it ſelfe is warranted without mans diſpenſation.

They obieſt, that vntil of late through the Weſt parte of the world publiſh prayers were in Latine, in the Eaſt part in Greeke, euen among thoſe nations to whom theſe languages were nomo-

See Greg.
Mart. his pro-
face at large
concerning
the Scriptures
in English.

De verbo Dei
lib. 2. cap. 16

Of Recufancie.

ther tongues. I anfwere, that when thefe nations were firft conuerted, they were fubieft to the Romane Emperour, which fpake Latine as his mother tongue, and therefore all endeoured to fpake as the Emperour fpake, although it were but broken Latine, and therefore receiued their Leiturgie in Latine. (And as for the Eaft they fpake Greeke, as commonly as the reft did fpake Latine) fo in *Wales* their mother tongue is Welch, in *Cornwall* Cornifh, In *Ireland* Irifh, yet in all thefe places the publike fervice is read in Englifh, and the people haue applied themfelues to fpake Englifh, becaufe they are fubiefts to the King of *England*. But now the Weaft part of the world, which was commonly called the Latine Church, is not fubieft to any man that fpaketh Latine as his proper language, and the Latine tong hath ceafed to be familiar among the people, wherefore then fhould not their fervice be now in the tongue which they vnderftand, as in the beginning it was in the Latine which they then vnderftood? Godly difcretion would thinke it fitte, now we haue the benefite of printing, which in the old time we had not, and wee haue fuch meanes to aduance religion, as our forefathers had not, that euery people fhould haue their Leiturgie, not onely in that tongue which they doe vnderftand, as then it was, but alfo in that tongue which they doe naturally fpake and beft vnderftand, as nowe all reformed Churches almoft haue. And this confideration moued the reuerend Father, Doctour *Morgan*, now Bifhops of *Saint Afaph*, and Doctour *Goodman*, the late Deane of *Weftminfter*, to take paines for the translating and publishing of the Bible in the Welch tong, by which their trauailes and godly indeouours they haue aduanced the Ghofpel in their owne country. And his Highneffe fhall truly performe the office of a King, if he take order that all men, women, and children, may be brought to fpake Englifh, or elfe, that they may haue the leiturgie translated, and printed in the Irifh tongue.

It hath bin objected in the defence of Latin fervice, that it is profitable for them which vnderftand it not, becaufe, fay they, publike praiers are not made to the people, but to god which vnderftandeth, in the behalfe of the people which vnderftand not. Euen as if an Aduocate fhould pleade before a Iudge which vnderftandeth, for his Client which is not able to vnderftand the

state of his owne cause and busines, and yet is as effectually handled by the Advocate, as if the Client did vnderstand. I answer, that it is enough if the Advocate vnderstand which pleadeth, because the Advocate pleadeth alone, but if the Client should ioyne in plea with the Advocate, it were necessary also that the Client should vnderstand, because without vnderstanding hee could not pleade, and speake for himselfe. But our parish Churches are ordained to this end, that not onely learned men should resort thither, as in Schooles and Colleges, which doe vnderstand Latine, but all ignorant people, for the sanctifying of the sabbath, and exercise of their religion, that not onely the ministers there should pray for them, as the Advocate alone speaketh for his Client, but they also should pray for their owne selues; and this is the difference betweene the courtes of earthly Iudges and the court of heauen. The people come not to the Church onely to be prayed for by the Minister, for so they may stay at home in their owne houses and be prayed for in the Church, but they come to pray themselues, both for others and for themselues, to ioyne with the minister in prayer, as the Apostle doth teach them saying: Now the God of patience and consolation graunt that ye may be like minded one to another according to Christ Iesus, that ye with one minde and one mouth may praise God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ. But this they cannot doe vlesse they vnderstand. He that prayeth and vnderstandeth not his owne words, may thinke he prayeth when he sweareth, and when he prayeth, he knoweth not that he prayeth, as the high priest prophesied, but knew not that he did prophesie, as the parret which laugheth, knoweth not that he laugheth, and the Thrushes and black-birds sing, but know not that they doe sing. But because *Bellarmino* hath compared praying vnto pleading, what kinde of plea shall that be, which neither Client nor Advocate doth vnderstand? It cannot be denied but in *Queene Maries* dayes, in many of our Churches the seruice was read, but not vnderstood, neither of the people, nor yet the priests and so it is now in some countries, where *Sir Iohn Lacke* latine hath the charge of soules, and vnderstandeth not the Masse which he readeth. *Bellarmino* alleadgeth out of *Exra*, that he read the law before the people, and prayed in a language which they vnderstood not,

Rom. 15

Iohn 12.

2. Exr. 8

and yet that the people did answer AMEN. He did reade, saith he, in a strange language, that is, in the Hebrue, for he could not reade in the *Chalde*, because that is a paraphrase and no text; nor in the *Syriac*, because that translation was not then extant, and as for the Hebrue, they vnderstood it not, as appeareth by these arguments; first, from the story, for after *Esdras* had read, the Leuites came and interpreted, which had beene needelesse if they had vnderstood it themselves. The second from obseruation, For the Iewes, saith he, forgot their Hebrue tong being captiues seauentie yeares in *Babel*, and learned the language of the land where they dwelt which was *Calde*, and yet not able to speake it naturally, they spake a third kinde of dialect which was the *Syriac*, consisting partly of the Hebrue, and partly of the *Chalde*, which language to them became their mother tongue, as appeareth by the *Syriac* words in the ghospel, which are therefore called Hebrue, because at that time the Hebrues spake them. I answered first to the story, out of the story. The text hath: And *Ezra* the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men & women, and of all that could heare and vnderstand it. Againe, he read there in the streete that was before the water gate, from the morning vntill midday, before men and women, and them that vnderstood it. Therefore it is euident by the testimony of the holy ghost, that the people vnderstood that language wherein the law was written and read vnto them. *Bellarminus* asketh what neede there was then of an *expositour*? I answered, the Leuites expounded not the words, but the sense, for the text saith: The Leuites caused the people to vnderstand the law, and in the next verse is explained, how the people were caused to vnderstand the law, not the words of the law, but the law it selfe, not the tongue wherein the law was written, but the meaning of it, for so it followeth in the 8. verse: And they read in the booke of the law of God distinctly, and gaue the sense, and caused the people to vnderstand the reading, that is, they preached vpon it. And forasmuch as the story saith: they read distinctly, what neede was there of distinct reading to them which vnderstood not the language?

I answered to his obseruation. Forasmuch as the *Chalde* and *Syriac* were but dialects of the Hebrew, as the *Doric* and *Ionic*

are but Dialects of the Greeke, and the Scottish tongue is a dialect of the English: it was incredible that the Iewes in their captivity, having among them Prophets and zealous Priests, their selues being also zealous, and fully assured to returne againe, should so forget their tongue, as not to vnderstand their owne Bible, so well as the *Dorics* vnderstand common Greeke, and the Scottish men do vnderstand English. But which is more, although the manner of the Iewes euer hath bin when they were dwelling in strange places, to speake the language of the place where they dwelt, as I know by my owne experience the Iewes at *Frankfort* speake Dutch, of *Prage* *Bohemish* &c: which tongues haue no affinitie with the Hebrew, yet in all places their seruice is in Hebrew, and their custome as it hath bene, so still continueth, to teach their Children so much Hebrew, as may be sufficient to vnderstand the Bible, and it is manifest by the storie that the Iewes in *Babylon* did the like.

Last of all. Concerning our prayers, if they do vuell looke ouer their ovne missall or Masse booke vvhich vvas vsed in *England* according to the custome of *Sarum*, and conferre it with our Service booke, they shall finde that there are few things in it, but they are either taken out of the Bible, or which vvas good, in that missal, so that they cannot easily mislike our service booke, vnlesse they vwill condemne a best parte of their ovne Masse Booke and the Bible. So then, they may safely come to our Church, vve cannot vvithout violating our conscience come to theirs, our prayers are in English which all they vnderstand, their prayers are in Latin which our people vnderstand not; they pray for the dead without warrant, we for the liuing, for the which they confesse wee haue warrant enough, they pray to the dead, which wee for iust causes disallow, wee pray to the liuing only, I meane the liuing God, against which they take no exception.

Of the Sacraments.

Concerning the number of Sacraments, we will not dispute, for as they define a Sacrament, there are more than seauen, as we define it, there are but two. This therefore shall not breed any

Of Recusancie.

any such iarre betweene vs, that therefore wee should refuse to communicate together.

Of Baptisme.

WEe hold them which are baptized in the Church of Rome to be so sufficiently baptized, that they may not be baptized againe; neither do they rebaptize them which haue bin baptized in our Church.

Of the Lordes Supper.

1. Corint. 11

AS often as we be made partakers of the Lordes Table, wee receiue the Lords body, because he hath saide it his owne selfe. We receiue it with reuerence and deuotion, because it is his body. For we must not, as the Apostle speaketh, eate it vnworthily, lest so we be guiltie of the Lords body, neither will we eate our owne damnation, for not discerning the Lordes bodie. But how it is his body we cannot see by the eyes of our bodies, or humane reason, neither can they, onely wee discern it by the eyes of faith, and so ought they to do. *Stephen Gardiner*, and the learned of their Church were wont to say, it was his bodie *inossibilibi modo*, after an vspeakable maner, after such a maner as mens tongues could not vtter. And therefore, as the Vniuersitie of *Tiguri* putteth them in minde, they seeme to haue forgotten what they said before when they take vpon them to *farimodum*, that is, to expresse in plaine terms of logicke, & yet cleane contrary and repugnant to the rules of logicke, his body to be really, naturally, and substantially hidden and comprehended vnder the accidents of bread. It is very strange, both to expresse that which they say cannot be expresse, and that the accidents of bread, can haue their being, when the bread it selfe hath no being, in whose only being their essence and being doth consist.

But be it as it is, no man can know more or sooner than God will reueale, what expositions focuer the subtiltie and varietie of mens wits do deuise, this sacrament is in our Church administred by vs as it was by our Sauior Christ, and is set downe in the story of the Gospel. I would know therefore what exception they

take

contra testa-
ment. Brenij.

take against it, why they should not receiue it with vs? It is no scruple or barre to their consciences in what sence we do vnderstand it, so as we deliuer it vnto them according to the true manner and forme of our Sauour Christ his institution. And if they will submit themselues to the lawes of our Church, and receiue it at our handes, we will not be ouer-hastie with them to examine them how they doe expound the wordes, *Hoc est corpus meum*: This is my bodie. For we know they cannot eate it but by faith, and so we wil leaue them to Gods mercy, that he would vouchsafe in good time further to satisfie them, lay open, and reueale his truth vnto them.

CHAP. IIII. Of Scism.

THey all edge we are Scismatikes, because we haue made a defection from the Catholike Church, and withdrawne our neckes out of the yoke of obedience to the head of the Church which is the Bishop of Rome, and that being seperated from the head, we cannot be living members of that mysticall body. My answer is: The head of the Church is Christ, 1. Cor. 12. and we as members are conglutinate and ioyned vnto that head, and to them which obiect that our Sauour Christ in his absence must haue his Deputie; that the Deputy or Vicar generall of Christ is the Holy-Ghost, which hath the gouernement of the Church. Euen as *Eliu* ascending vp let his mantle downe vpon *Elisha*, to be with him in his steade: so our Sauour departing from vs sent downe the Holy-Ghost to possesse his roome, and to abide with vs vntill the end of the world: Take heede, saith the Apostle, to your selues, and to all the flocks whereof the holy-ghost hath made you ouer-seers; so then the Holy-Ghost hath the gouernement of the Church. But, say they, a visible body must haue a visible head proportionably to the body, and therefore some one man must be ouer the Church. I deny not but weake men desire a visible obiect still before their eyes, as the Israelites when *Moses* was out of their sight but a few dayes, would make a calfe to be their gouernour, rather than they would want one to be visibly resident among them. And therefore our Sauour, because we should not in his absence committe

1. Cor. 12.

2. Reg. 2

Act. 2

Math. 28.

Act. 20.

Exod. 32

31

Of Refusancie.

the like idolatry, did leaue the visible Sacrament of the Eucharist among vs saying : This is my body. But yet I do answer that a similitude must not, as the Schoolemen say, *Currere quatuor pedibus* : agree in all things. First therefore, it is not simply necessarie that the visible bodie should still haue a visible head in sight, as if it could not stand without such an head. For God had his Church visible vpon the earth before the Papacie, and before the Incarnation of Christ, but Christ the head of the Church before his incarnation could not be a visible head. So therefore, as Christ in his Godhead alone before hee was borne, was the head of his Church, though inuisible, likewise is he now in his Godhead and Manhoode vnited together, head of the church visible, although vpon the earth not to be seene. Secondly, the time hath beene when there was a long vacancie of the Popedome, by reason of ciuill dissention, yet the Church then stood without such an head. Thirdly, no sinfull man is able to discharge such an office as to be ouer-seer of the vniuersal church. Fourthly, there must be such an influence of necessitie from the head to the body, as cannot possibly be from any man to the Church. Fifthly, the Pope neuer was reputed as head of the whole Church, for the East part of the world, that is, the Greeke Church was euer so auerse from the Sea of *Rome*, that it could neuer yet be brought, either to obedience to the Pope, or to ioyne in rites and ceremonies with his Church, or to be incorporated into that body, or to vse the same leiturgie and forme of prayer which that Church vseth. All appellations amongst them haue bin to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as to the highest Bishop. Sixtly, what authoritie soeuer the Pope hath had over the Latine Church and West part of the world, it hath beene given him by humane constitutions onely, and generall consent of Princes and States, which they suffered him to enioy, during their owne good liking, and no longer. And last of all, our owne experience can enforme vs, that the Catholike princes which are most of all deuoted to the Sea of *Rome*, will be so farre subiect as they thinke fit, and no further. *Charles* the fift, late Emperor and King of *Spaine*, tooke prisoner, *Clement* the Pope, when hee resisted his proceedings in *Italie*, and Queene *Mary* made her Cousin *Cardinal Pole* Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie* though the Pope with-
stood

stood it: neither doe the Kings of *France*, though of the Romish religion, euer suffer the Popes to beare any stroke in the election of their Bishops. I wish therefore that they would be better aduised before they lay scisme vnto our charge.

Chap. V. Of Discord, and Inconstancie.

THe vsuall obiections against vs were wont to be, that wee haue sects and diuisions among vs. But so had they oftentimes, *Eckius* against *Pigbins*, *Thomas* against *Securus*, so had the Apostles *Peter* against *Paul*, and *Paul* against *Barnabas*, some were of *Paul*, some of *Apolls*, and some of *Cephus*. We contend about white and blacke, round and square, but in matters of religion, we agree. That concerning the booke of common prayer when the masse was first put downe, king *Henry* had his English Leiturgie, and that was iudged absolute without exception, but when King *Edward* came to the Crowne, that was condemned, and other in the place which *Peter* Martyr, and *Bucer* did approue as very consonant to Gods wo. d. When Queene *Elizabeth* beganne hir raigne, the former was iudged to be full of imperfections, and a new was deuised, and allowed by the consent of the Clergie. But about the middle of her raigne wee grew weary of that booke, and great meanes haue beene wrought to abandon that, and establish an other, which although it was not obtained: yet we doe, at the least, at euery change of Prince, change our booke of common prayers, we be so wanton that we know not what we would haue. I answer, they haue done the like, they cannot denie it, for prooffe whereof I referre them to the preface which is set before their owne Breuiary, wherein it is specified, how many times their owne Breuiary hath beene altered.

It is no discredit, either to them, or vs, to alter for the better and to correct that which we finde amisse. All faults are not espied at once, neither is all truth reuealed at once. But it is damnable to perseuere and continue in an error after it is found out, and not to imbrace a truth after it is reuealed. The Church had a time of grow'ing three hundred yeares after Christ, being then

Rom. 1.

watered, and made fruitfull by the blood of Martyrs; then the religion of *Rome* was found, according to that which Saint *Paul* doth reſtiſie in his Epistle to the Romanes; the Biſhops thereof continued zealous, and were commonly martyred. The Church had a time of flourishing three hundred yeares, which beganne when *Conſtantine* the great granted peace vnto the goſpel, and perſecution ceaſed, ſo long ſound doctrine was preached. But the Church afterward beganne to decay and ſo went backward vntill *Gregory* the great, in whoſe time corruption began to creepe in, and ſoranne ouer the whole body of the Church, and euery chriſtian Kingdome which were members of that body, ſo that the whole viſible Catholike Church through the world was mightily deformed. Then *Luther* in his time beganne a reformation againe, though he reformed not the whole, yet he reformed ſome partes, like a Phyſition, which finding a mans body full of ſores, healeth ſome members, although he be not able to reſtore the whole to his firſt integritie. Neither did *Luther* reforme thoſe parts vnto the full, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of his life, and the greatneſſe of the cure which he vnder-tooke, but left ſomewhat to be reformed after him by *Caluin* and *Beza*, which as they came after him, ſo they ſaw more truth then was reuealed vnto him (for it did not pleaſe God to reueale all truth to one man, or in one age.) So then, as a Phyſition which being not able to cure the whole body, cureth ſome parts and members, and yet being prevented by death, doeth not ſo perfectly reſtore thoſe partes which hee cureth vnto their former ſtrength and agilitie, but leaueth his worke to be finiſhed by others: ſo did *Luther* by the Church. The Clergie of *England* therefore in King *Henries* dayes eſtabliſhed religion and ordered their ſeruite booke according to that ſmal portion and meaſure of knowledge which then they had. In the dayes of King *Edward* and Queene *Elizabeth*, moe light was reuealed then before, and thoſe errours which were eſpyed, were amended. And as it was no ſhame for vs to reforme our errours when wee eſpyed them; ſo it muſt needs be vnexcusable to the Church of *Rome* to continue in their errours now they are layde open before them, or to winke at nooneday that they will not ſee them. The Lord of his mercie through Ieſus Chriſt, giue them

and vs his grace, that we may agree together in on truth, and as sheep of one fold, hearken only to the voice of him which is the great Shepherd of our soules, which is Iesus Christ. Amen

The Conclusion.

I Thought it requisite to forbear multitudes of quotations of places, and allegations of Doctors and Schoolmen, because this Treatise was written for the instruction of the ignorant. I haue, vpon purpose, affected breuitie, because my desire was, that euery one should read it. Some Latine sentences of *Belarmine* I haue produced, that the Aduersarie might not charge me as if I had falsified any thing, or dealt otherwise than ingeniously. I haue alleadged those places only which were so pertinent to this businesse which I haue in hand as they could not be well omitted, And I haue refrained to handle some other questions, which peradventure would be very pleasing to the Reader, because authoritie hath not iudged it convenient they should be discussed. Let it not seeme strange which I haue written, that the learned Papists flie from their ancient defences, and cleaue to ours, and that *Belarmine* the great *Goliath* of *Rome*, in his works which beare a title as if they were written wholly against vs, doth in many points hold with vs, and in those very points iustifie vs, wherein he is thought to condemne vs, that in very many things he is a Protestant, or at the least, not a Papist, that the Roman religion is refined, for it will plainly appeare to all iudicious and indifferent readers. I haue spoken of this argument more at large, in mine answer to *Belarmine*s foure bookes *de verbo Dei*, and his five bookes *de Christo*, which had bene published before this time, had it not bene for the great difficultie of printing Latine bookes here in *London*, but are now beyond the Seas to be printed, and I will obserue the like in the rest of his workes, which I do intend to answer if God shal giue me life and health, and blesse my labours. There be many Iesuites and Seminaries, dispersed in this land, into whose handes I doubt not but this booke will come, which if they will but remember what *Vrim* and *Thummim* ought to be, in *pectore Aaronis*, in the heartes of Gods Ministers, if they will read without partialitie, and that I

may vse their owne phraſe of ſpeech, ſpeake ſincerely, and *in verbo Sacerdotis*, what they thinke, I ſubmit my ſelfe to their cenſure whether I haue deliuered a truth or not, and I perſwade my ſelfe that if they haue that integritie whereof they make profeſſion, they will not deny one truth to gaine many worldes. But thus much haue I written at this time, for the diſcharge of my conſcience, the zeale I beare to the truth, and the inſtruction of them which hitherto haue not vnderſtoode themſelues. I pray GOD my perſwaſion may perſwade. His Maieſtie hath profeſſed that he will eſtabliſh the truth, if he do not, that I may with reuerence and in all duty vse his owne wordes, his bookes will witneſſe againſt him, at the latter day. He may doe it, if he be aſſiſting to his Miniſters. But he cannot do it, vnleſſe he provide that there be a learned Miniſtery through the land, that the learned be preferred before the vnlearned, they which labor in the word, before them which are idle, that they be preferred according to their worth, that they be ſufficiently provided for, that they be countenanced by his Highneſſe, his Nobles, the gentry, but eſpecially by the Iudges the Land, that they haue no rights denied vnto them, which of dutie they may challenge out of Gods word. And this his Maieſtie ſhall neuer effect, vnleſſe he preferre religion before policie, remooue *Gebezi* out of *Eluſam* his ſeruiſe, abandon flatterie, baniſh ſimonie out of the Church, and briberie out of his houſe and all his Courts. The Lord continue and increaſe his zeale, that he may raigae over vs like *Ezechias*, to Gods glory, the aduancement of the Goſpel, our happineſſe, the comfort of his owne ſoule, which he ſhall one day feele to be more precious vnto him than al his king domes.

To the Protestant Reader.

Be it very farre from the seruants of God that they should mistake me, or conceiue any sinister opinion of my indeuors, as if I dealt too fauorably with the Papists. For they ought to consider of mine intent & purpose, which is not to exasperate and prouoke them to anger, but to perswade the, which I cannot do by bitter speeches, neither yet by burdening them with any vntruths. The spirit of meeknes doth best become Christ his ministers, and the worde of God hath taught me to deale charitable with all men, but especially to restore them which haue fallen, by gentlenesse, not to breake the brused reede, nor to quench the smoaking flax. That I am not of their mind this booke testifieth sufficiently enough. That I do not make more fauourable constructions of their Doctrine than truth and veritie doth require, their doctrine it selfe doth shew. How much I dissent from them, my Sermon doth witnesse which I preached at *S. Pauls Crosse* about eight yeares since and published in print, wherein I shewed that the state of the Papacie was Antichrist. In it I set downe, as I hope, though a brieft, yet a full and perfect state of the question; what was wanting in words, by reason of the shortnes of time, was supplied in substance, I answered all obiections out of *Behermine* and *Sanders* which were of moment, that it might be an helpe to others which should afterward deliuer the same againe in more wordes, and larger volume. The God of al wisdome and knowledge direct their harts and mindes to the true knowledge of his worde through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FINIS.